1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzzelt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

zui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

r-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

azir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484.
[2] Page 136.
[3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 483.
[5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple: that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Vigtigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 ●789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams.

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required.

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired.

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *zawia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance.

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity.

[p.157]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789

Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves from the "sultan of oleander," an oleander the leaves of which grow in clusters of four instead of three.
A peeled pomegranate stick, three, five, or seven spans in length.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves of the reed.
Between one and seven split sections of reed. No single length of reed may be split in more than six sections.
One or three eggs.
A beaten-out strip of lead.

Parts of body or objects in intimate contact with it.
Hair cut from the head, the right or left side, depending upon the circumstances.
A bit of cloth from the victim's clothing.

Methods of disposal or application of the amulet.
Soaking it off and drinking the water or giving it to the victim. It is given to women in childbirth, and to women by their admirers to make them discontented with their husbands.
Burning it so that the smoke will be smelt by the victim, or, if he is asleep, inhaled. This is done to make a woman leave her husband or a husband divorce his wife.
Giving it to a person to eat. This is done only with the snout of a wild boar, which is cut into small pieces and mixed with food. The act is intended to cause anger between the one who eats it and some other specified person. This method is used by plural wives to throw other wives into disfavor with their husbands.
Burying it under the door or in the floor where a person sleeps. This will make the person who walks or sleeps over it rise up insane in the night and depart.
Shaking a stick. If someone shakes a pomegranate stick, prepared as specified, at a conceited man, the latter will boast so extravagantly as to get himself into trouble or make himself a laughing-stock.
Tying it in a tree near the victim's house. The woman who passes under or by it will become distressed, act as if mad, and go to the house of her parents. The wind must be moving the amulet at the time she passes for it to be efficacious.
Tying it to parts of the body. This is done to protect the person purchasing the amulet, to cure ailments, or to attract specified persons to the purchaser. A woman ties a hedgehog's jaw to her belt to insure her husband's fidelity; reeds or sticks may be tied over the stomach, and paper amulets on the forehead, neck, and upper arm. Amulets tied to the forehead are intended to cure headaches and to cause sexual attraction; on the neck, to cure ailments in that place and for attraction. Very rarely, women tie paper amulets about their ankles for attraction.

There is no special use for each kind of writing fluid; any one may be used with any type of material and for any purpose, depending on the details of the situation.

Paper may be used for amulets to be attached to any part of the body except the stomach or abdomen, for tying in a tree, for burying, for soaking off and drinking, or for burning.

Scapulae may be used for burning only.

Ribs, which are rarely used, are employed only for burning or for hanging in trees.

The patella is used only for tying over the abdomen.

The mandible of a hedgehog is used only for tying in a woman's belt.

The snout of a wild boar may be used both for soaking off and drinking and for cutting up and eating.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789

Olive leaves may be used only for soaking off or for burning.

Oleander leaves may be used for soaking off or for burning. They are used especially in the treatment of malaria.

Pomegranate sticks are used only for shaking at a man to make him boast.

Split reeds are used only for burning.

Leaves of the reed have the same restrictions and use as those of the oleander.

Eggs are used only in the cure of sore eyes. The student passes the egg seven times around the orbit of the patient, then breaks the egg, finds a white speck of albumen in it, and throws the egg away. He claims that the speck of albumen is the illness of the eye, which he has removed. In bad cases he uses three eggs, one on each consecutive day for three days.

1837

Amulets written on lead are used as protection agains *jnun* while walking alone at night and against bullets in battle, and are worn by women to prevent their husbands from doing them bodily harm should they be caught in adultery. When used for the last-named purpose they are very expensive.

Hair cut from the head is used as string to tie amulets to trees, and cloth cut from garments is used to wrap the amulet or to burn with it.

The type of amulet used for attachment to the body is rendered impotent if borne over a major stream, such as the Bayu, Nekor, Ghis, Kert, Muluya, or Wergha, or over the sea. Branches of streams do not count. There are two ways to prevent this: by putting the amulet in a loaf of bread with salt before crossing, and by sewing a sprig of an herb called *er hamr* in its case. This herb is rare, and is sold in markets for an exorbitant price.

In all cases in which more than one amulet, such as seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves, must be employed, for burning, soaking, or the like, one must be used on each consecutive day after and including the first day; otherwise the charm will not work.

The price of the materials used in the charm is not included in the fee charged by the student. He requires the applicant to go out and get anything needed; he must kill a bat or hoopoe if the blood of either is necessary. Payment is not made until the treatment is finished, and only in case of success. Such is the complexity of the formulae employed and so great are the possibilities of error that failures are attributed to mistakes in technique.

This type of magical practice is not approved by everyone, and such actions are performed in secret. A clerk loses his position if he is caught writing amulets.

THEIRA OF THE *JNUN*

This is the same type of magic as ordinary *theira*, except that the formulae are obtained from various books. Only one half the data in the manuals is obtained from the Koran; the other half is extracted from other books, which deal with the *jnun*; these are very rare, and are kept hidden. This type of *theira* is more sinister and dangerous than the other, and is concerned, among other things, with the prevention of sexual intercourse among newly married couples. The following are typical examples:

1. The student writes on the palm of an applicant's right hand. The applicant looks at this until he sees *jnun* walking across it, in the forms of dogs, cats, and black men with evil faces, and clothed only in tall turbans.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. The student writes on the applicant's forehead, and the latter looks into a bowl of water until he sees the same spectacle as in (1). Sometimes, although rarely, he sees a battle.

3. A student cuts a piece of paper the shape of a silver Spanish or Hassani dollar, and by some privately known means transforms it into a real silver coin, which will remain silver for several hours, after which it will turn back to paper. He must get rid of it immediately and get away before it turns.

4. When a student wishes to find buried treasure he writes an amulet and cuts it into sixty pieces, one of which bears on it a certain indication. He goes to the place where the treasure is supposed to be, throws the sixty pieces of paper in the air, and digs under the place where the specially marked piece lands.

5. To retrieve a stolen cow, the loser hires a student to write an amulet on a piece of paper or on the stake to which the cow was habitually tied. If it is written on paper he ties this to the stake. He sets the stake where the cow was stolen, and leaves it there until the thief, as a result of this magic, becomes terrified and does not dare lead the cow out to pasture. The culprit becomes more and more frightened until he leads the cow out in the night, ties it in an occupied place, and sends a messenger to tell the owner where it is.

6. When a groom about to be married does not make a present to the students at the cantonal mosque, they coerce or take revenge upon him in the following manner. They write a formula on a new jack-knife blade, and sit by a path where the groom is expected to walk. One of the students holds the knife open, but concealed from view. When the groom passes, the student holding the knife calls to him by name, and while the groom is replying, snaps the knife shut. As a result, the groom will not have an erection until the knife has been opened again. If he encounters this difficulty on the final night of the marriage and suspects the cause, he may persuade the students to open the knife by giving them whatever presents they demand.

7. If a boy and a girl are lovers, and the girl is forced into a marriage with another, the boy may go to a student with a loaf of bread. The student writes on it and breaks it into seven pieces. The boy takes these to the bride, who eats one each day of the seven days of the feast. The groom will then be unable to have an erection with that girl until he can find a student to write a counter-charm, which is very difficult. It is said that this procedure will almost inevitably cause the groom to divorce his bride.

8. A man who wishes to marry another man's wife may give an old copper *soldi* to an old woman intimate with the object of his desires, or to the sister of the wife, if he can persuade the sister to be in league with him. The woman who has taken the *soldi* arranges to sleep in the room with the wife, and during the night, while the latter is asleep, passes the coin into her vagina and out again. She then cuts off some of the wife's hair, and the next day gives the *soldi* and hair to the man who gave her the coin. He takes the two objects to a student, who writes on the *soldi*. The man then drives a stake into an irrigation ditch and ties the *soldi* to it with the hair. When the coin commences moving back and forth with the flow of the stream, the wife will commence menstruating, and as long as the coin remains in the stream and keeps moving she will continue to do so. When the husband has become exasperated at this and has divorced her, the man removes the coin from the stream, whereupon the woman ceases menstruating. The man may then ask for her in marriage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

OLD WOMEN'S MAGIC

789 This type of magic, known as *sohor*, does not involve the use of writing, and is not performed by students. It is the exclusive property of women. The following will serve as examples:

1. When rain falls during a wedding, old women take a bit of the bride's headcloth and stick seven needles into it. They then fasten it to a pole and set it on the roof. This is supposed to stop the rain immediately.

2. When, on the other hand, rain is desired, old women take a *thefeiru*, or wooden breadshovel, and dress it as a bride in the clothes of a bride who has recently been married for the first time. The unmarried girls carry the shovel around to all the houses, and to the mosque and saint's tomb, if there is one, shouting a request for God to send rain. When they have taken it to all the houses in the village they set it up in a grain field, preferably a field of barley. Although they do not expressly say so in the formula which they chant, their idea is to induce the rain to take its bride.[1]

3. When women of one family are jealous of the women of another at a wedding, and wish to exceed them in skill at singing and dancing, an old woman of the first family chews up a mouthful of salt and oil and spits this into the drum-warming fire. This will cause the rival women to fight together and leave the wedding.

4. When a young couple are in love and the boy changes his affection and marries another girl, the mother of the slighted girl invites the boy to enter her house. She sits in a corner holding two wool-cards with unwashed wool between them. She calls out the boy's name, and as he answers takes a stroke with the cards. She does this three times, and if he has answered each time she locks the cards together and puts them up in the rafters. As long as the cards remain there he will be unable to have an erection. In this case the wool serves as a symbol of softness.

SHAME-COMPULSIONS

183 The shame-compulsion, called *ar*, is claimed by the Riffians to have no sorcery in it, but to be based on the use of shame as an effective agent. Its principle lies in one man's doing something ceremonially which will shame another into doing something against his will. The shame-compulsion is connected with hospitality. Just as it is unthinkable to refuse to give food to a guest who enters your house, or to refuse food offered in the house of another, so it is unthinkable to refuse to comply to a shame-compulsion.

If a man should refuse a shame-compulsion some great calamity would befall him; he or one of his family would die, and all mankind would cease to respect him. He would lose his entire social standing. Examples of the shame-compulsion follow:

1. A *bone* hard pressed in a feud, wishing to ally itself to another *bone*, passes *in toto* men, women, and children, to the village mosque of the other *bone*, leading with them a bull if possible, otherwise a cow or a goat. The schoolmaster of the first *bone*, or one of its members who is a student at the cantonal mosque, slaughters the animal sacrificially in front of the mosque, in such a way that the blood will spurt out and hit the door. If this fails to

[1] S. Biarnay (*Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif*, pp. 174–178), in a text written in the dialect of the Bokoya, gives a complete account of this ceremony. My account is from the Gzennaya in particular, although this rite is practiced in many tribes of the Rif.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger--among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand--with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

821 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure
783 himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
787 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

716 789 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment. Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] /304/ Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

/305/ For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

/307/ The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

/308/ The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] /309/ Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
[782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
788 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 755 789 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 781 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

776 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

527 578 266 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 578 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to refrain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 728 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

[1] [For definition of 'ar see previous page.- Analyst]

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

787
789
● A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, assured me that to break a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
●789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

709 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

709 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

[514]

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

[266] The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[312] [276] As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

[279] Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

[282] The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

[283] BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 [284] In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

[285] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] [287] Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

● 789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih dispersees charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] 000 As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

531 171 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local 191 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 789 191 [772] [805] A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence [596] and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed [614] clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates 634 from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

[212] [113] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[113] [14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[113] [15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] [16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] [18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).